1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he would be killed at the first opportunity.

Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wilson (66, p. 385). "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare.

LIFE CRISES

BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger (usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.)

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days. Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully. The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale refers to the use of turmeric:

> Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu.

That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born.

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

temporaries. A number of elderly people and even some children do not know their ages, but the proportion is probably less in this generation than in the last. The habit of counting years is becoming common. Government requirements of registration and the practice of entering the ages of children in school rolls lead naturally to this result.

The life of the individual is divided into a number of periods which give a rough indication of age. The child is first *huhu* (at the breast), then *mavae* (weaned). This latter word however does not give a very close approximation to a child's age as understood by a European, as many children continue to suck the breast, though eating other food, for two years or more. Other words in the stages of life are, *tateka* (crawling about), *totuu* (commencing to stand), *akoako haele* (learning to walk), *haele* (walking), *lele holo* (running about), *fangafanga* (hair cut short on the top but left at the sides)—a custom that has largely fallen into disuse.

From childhood on different words are used of men and women. A general word for boy is *tamajii*. As he grows up he is *talavou jii* (little, young, young man), *talavou* (young man), *tangata* (man)—a word of very wide application—*fatu tangata* (middle-aged man), *fatu tangata motua* (late middle-aged man), *vaivai* (old, literally weak), *vetolu* (three-legged, that is supporting himself on his staff), *auau* (going down, failing). So too a man may be described as *motua aupito* (very old), or *uuu* (shedding skin).

Words descriptive of the growing girl and woman are *taahine* (general word for girl), *huhu tutuu* (breast forming), *finemui jii* (little, young, young woman), *fehine* (general word for woman), *fatu fehine* (middle-aged woman), and so on as for men with the necessary alterations of *tangata* (man) to *fehine* (woman).

A man is frequently called *motua* and a woman *finemotua*. These words properly indicate a man who has begotten and a woman who has borne children.

By the use of such words it is possible to locate comparatively recent events; for example, a man may say that such a war was fought when his father was a young man. More remote occurrences may be reckoned by generations. For example, "It is

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

There is always a
"wise woman" officiating, generally one of the hereditary 844
sisterhood, but sometimes an old woman who had adopted 759
the profession from choice, and is consequently looked
down upon as an interloper and a quack. The fees, given [465]
in kind, are high when the poverty of the donors is considered—*ngatu* and mats to the value of 30s. or more.
The "wise woman" receives the child on a tiny mat 844
specially plaited for the occasion. If it is a boy, the
umbilicus is severed on a digging-stick to make him a
good cultivator; if a girl, on a *ngatu*-mallet to make
her a good beater of cloth. The child is then washed and [853]
rubbed over with oil and turmeric, a small quantity of
candle-nut and cocoa-nut juice is forced into its mouth to
make it vomit, and for the first two days it is fed by
hand upon cocoa-nut-milk, or suckled by another woman,
because at that early stage the mother's milk is believed
to be insufficient and unwholesome. During the first 846
month the child's grandmothers, or its unmarried aunts,
are told off to supply the mother with food and look after
the house, and the mother is spared all exertion. It
would be better for her and the child if at this stage
she were also deprived of kava and tobacco. Before the 853
missionaries had inculcated family life on the European
plan, the native social system recognised a physical
peculiarity in Tongan women, and insisted upon the
seclusion of the mother during the whole period of lactation in order to avoid a second gestation within too short
a period of the birth, and consequently the premature
weaning of the first child. As in Japan, the time of
suckling was prolonged until all the teeth had come; for
the Tongans have no good substitute for the mother's

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

853 milk, and could only give the children taro, yam, or fish as the first food after weaning. The change in this system of family separation is the cause most commonly quoted by the natives for the high mortality among children.

181 I have said that the Tongans are sticklers for propriety in appearances. In some respects, however, they share with the other Polynesian peoples a gross lack of delicacy. 585 Ancient custom still constrains the elderly female relations of the bridegroom to go home with the married pair and stay with them until they are in a position to prove to the other relations that the marriage is satisfactory, and that the dower is therefore due.

186 All the weaknesses of pride of race that we laugh at in ourselves, and feel none the less keenly, may be studied 186 among these other islanders of the antipodes. There is a 167 Tongan colony in Fiji, the children of the army of occu- 829 pation taken over by Maafu in 1848. The real Tongans patronise their colonials, and speak of them behind their backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society. The colonists affect to ridicule the Tongan aristocracy as effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan colonist who has been to Nukualofa and conversed with the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to his fellows, who try to disguise their feeling of inferiority by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much envy. Thus, as between the English and the Australians, a gulf is gradually being fixed between the Tongans of 186 Tonga and Fiji. Not less instructive is the feeling 829 between the Tongans and the Fijians. While affecting 648 to despise the Fijians for their want of refinement, the

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e tangata's* possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his *fa'e tangata* have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata's* wife from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga's* children, too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may stay in one room together, talking about anything.

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

12.

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

ngahu plants that grew profusely there. They went on to the next island, and again she got sick. They went to a third island, and she liked it there so there they stayed until one night she woke up with stabbing pains in her back. Tupouto'a knew that she was in labour so they hurried and set sail for Lifuka. Before landing at Pangai, however, they decided to turn around and head for 'Uiha to Malupo's place so the child could be born there. As they passed Hihifo, Houma Fale Ono begged them to put to shore because she was going to give birth very soon.

They landed on the beach just as she gave birth to a baby boy. The men called about for a ripe coconut to feed the baby.[12] Finally, an old man, who was bailing out the double canoe, called back that he had a nut from the last island they were on. This was brought and opened. They found that it was a nginingini "a dried shrivelled nut," for all the water was gone. The meat was still good, and they fed the baby with it. After this, they took the afterbirth and buried it further inland, marking the place with an ovava tree.[13] Then they sailed on to 'Uiha.

When they arrived at 'Uiha, a kava party was held and they told of their travels and the birth of the child. The first island on which they landed and where Houma Fale Ono vomitted from the smell of the ngahu plants was called /lua + ngahu/ "vomit ngahu." The next island was named /lua + hoko/ "vomit next" because that was where she threw up next. The third island that she liked, and where she woke up from her sleep with pain in her back, was called /ofo + langa/ "awake startled from sleep + pain." The beach on which the baby boy was delivered was called /niu ui/ "coconut call" because the men called around for a coconut to feed the baby. The child was named Nginingini Ofolanga, meaning "the shrivelled dried coconut from Ofolanga."

Two more names associated with the war between Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga, and Taufa'ahau which took place on Lifuka island at Ha'apai[14] were given wrong meanings. They are:

Tauakipulu. "To build two canoes at the same time for caulking with pulu gum (taua, to build two canoes at the same time; ki, for; pulu, a kind of gum, used as pitch for caulking canoes."[15]

Velata. "To burn and to strike (vela, to burn; ta, to strike)."[16]

Gifford's Tauakipulu's correct spelling and pronunciation is /tau'akipulu/. It came from the terrifying yells of Laufili'tonga's fleeing warriors, /ko e pulu 'oku nau tau'aki/ "they are using gun powder in the fight." This sentence had been transformed into /tau'aki'a e pulu/ "fighting with gunpowder," or "using gunpowder for the fight," and /'a e/ got deleted resulting in the present form, /tau'akipulu/ the name given to the King's residence in Ha'apai to commemorate Taufa'ahau's victory over Laufilitonga's warriors.

Velata had also originated in a similar fashion to Tau'akipulu. It is the result of transformations of the original sentence /Ko e taa na'e vevela/" the strike that inflicted pain," referring figuratively to the great mental suffering of Laufilitonga when his wife Lupe Pau'u eloped with Taufa'ahau. This original sentence was transformed to /Na'e vevela 'a e taa/. Then the past tense marker /na'e/ was

12. Before the baby is breast fed by the mother, he is given a *namoa*. This consists of ripe coconut meat which is chewed and wrapped in a piece of unpainted tapa cloth. Then this is placed in the baby's mouth so he can suck it. The coconut cream acts as a mild laxative and it cleans out the baby's *te 'evao* "bush excrement" which is the term applied to the baby's first passing of stool.
13. Most people in Ha'apai believe that the ovava tree in front of the hospital at Niu'ui on Lifuka is this same ovava tree referred to in this story.
14. Gifford. 1923:213–14.
15. */tau'akipulu/*. Gifford 1923:216. The three morphemes in this compound word are */tau/* "fight or war" /'aki/ instrumental suffix, and */pulu/* "gunpowder."
16. Gifford 1923:257.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament, which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the generality of the people having only one.

We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons & appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough & cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We saw no Women of this Colour.

[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

with another woman. The first dream is patently a wish-fulfilment dream with an undercurrent of anxiety that becomes obvious in Kafa's second dream. The longer she remains without a child, the less secure she can feel in her husband's affections.

Case 4.—Heu, a woman of 30, long married but still without children, dreams that we are leaving Pangai and give her a baby girl as a farewell gift. She weeps over our departure but is glad she at last has a baby. She goes to get food for the baby, but, when she returns a moment later, the baby is gone. In her annoyance she beats her father's father, who lives in her house, accusing him of losing the baby. Then she awakes crying. This dream again is obviously motivated by the desire of a childless woman for children. Her paternal grandfather is very old and needs much attention and nursing. Making him responsible for the loss of a cherished gift enables the dreamer to vent on the old man some of the resentment she occasionally feels for him, but as quickly suppresses, during waking hours. A feeling of guilt over this causes her to awake in tears and feeling, as she added, that she "had done something very bad."

Anxiety dreams also seem to be common among these villagers. Many of these dreams seem to relate to anxieties over religious matters. These I shall consider later. Others appear to have a number of different motivations of which the following are examples.

Case 5.—Dream of Tui, married man of about 27. In his dream Tui saw a family picnic where he and his wife and baby, together with his mother-in-law and Sigaleti (his *fa'e tangata*, mother's brother), were present. After the picnic was finished, he sent his wife and mother-in-law inland to collect cocoanuts. He then mounted his horse and Sigaleti with his baby mounted another. They went along the beach and made the horses swim out to sea. It became dark and he lost sight of Sigaleti, but he continued to swim his horse until he arrived at Ha'apai (the middle islands of the Tongan group, some seventy miles distant from Pangai). There he saw Sigaleti and the baby on the beach. They rode down a village road until they came to the house where a white man lived with his wife. The baby began to cry with hunger. Tui lifted the baby from the horse and asked the white people for water. They had none, but they offered European food, which Tui fed to his baby with a spoon. At first the baby refused this new food, but later it ate eagerly. Then some relatives came by. One of them, another brother of his mother, walked toward him carrying a little girl. As he watched, his relative and the little girl fell into a deep pit. He rushed toward them because suddenly the little girl looked just like his own baby. He could not see them. He woke feeling depressed and sad.

It is possible to interpret this dream, I think, if I mention the fact that it was dreamed two days after Tui, a very intelligent man, had been discussing with us European methods of feeding and bringing up children. There is a heavy infantile mortality in Tonga and we had been propagandizing among the brighter Tongans for the exercise of more care in infant feeding (orange juice and cow's milk, for example, instead of half-cooked pork and taro and deadly teething powders). Many of our friends were quite receptive to this idea though they felt it would require much education and effort to put into practice. Tui was also extremely attached to his infant daughter. Doubtless a feeling of anxiety over his inability to do what Europeans with their great prestige thought best for his child gained expression in this dream. He symbolically dismisses his wife and mother-in-law, representative of current Tongan methods of infant care, and finds the desired foods for his child, only

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net.

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine, the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets, thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the fruit are innumerable.

As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A newborn child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone, usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece of *fetaaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his only food for four days.

Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh. This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap, candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also are made from the shells.

No native food is considered complete without the presence of coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and strained through coconut fiber.

Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrowroot and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

KAPA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to remove all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

rank but had proved himself, during the intervening years, to be a man of outstanding gifts of leadership. Wilkes, in 1840, observed:

> He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed he was in the habit of commanding those about him. With unassuming dignity, he quietly took his seat without the hut, and as if rather preferred to be a listener than one who was to meet us in council. (Wilkes 1845:180)

Born in 1797 at a spot called Niu'ui[3] at Lifuka, Ha'apai, the

[3] According to the tradition held by Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote and the people of Tongatapu, King George was born at Lavaka's place, Kahoua, at Fualu, Tongatapu. It is said that when Houmofaleono became pregnant she developed a peculiar craving for human blood. This so alarmed her father, Ma'afu of Vainī. that he gave instructions to kill the infant at birth, if it were born a boy, for he would be a danger to Tonga. On learning of this, Lavaka (another member of the Ha'a Havea) took Houmofaleono to his *'api*, Kahoua, where she gave birth to her child. The tradition among the Ha'apai people claims that Tupouto'a, on hearing about Ma'afu's decision, sent his chief navigator from Ha'apai to fetch Houmofaleono. But before the *kalia* (double canoe) reached Lifuka, Houmofaleono began to labour. Consequently they called at the little island of Ofolanga where she gave birth to a son. (This version was obtained from Fe'iloakitau Kaho, who is a descendant of Tupouto'a's chief navigator.)

Another version, told by the 'Uiha people among whom Tupouto'a resided is that Houmofaleono was brought to 'Uiha. From there, she was taken first to one of the small neighbouring islands, where a certain plant grows called *ngahu (scaevola)*, with a strong sickening smell. She soon complained that she felt sickened by this smell, and from that time on the island was called Luangahu, (*lua*—sick or vomit, hence 'sickened by *ngahu*'). Later they called at another small island, where she really became sick, and this island is still called Luahoko (actually vomiting). From Luahoko they went to another island where they spent the night, and during the night Houmofaleono awoke with pains. Hence the name of the island, Ofolanga (*ofo*—awake, *langa*—pain). They hurried back to 'Uiha, but could not reach there in time, so they landed on the western side of Lifuka, and there near the beach she gave birth. This spot is named Niu'ui (*niu*—coconut, *ui*—call) which is supposed to be due to the people calling out to each other for a coconut with which to prepare a *namoa* (baby food made from coconut cream). I recorded this version from the 'Uiha people at a *faikava* (kava party). It was supported by Siola'ā Soakai, a very knowledgeable *matāpule* at Pangai, Lifuka. He recalled a speech, given by Tu'ipelehake, King George's grandson (and grandfather of the late Queen Sālote) which was delivered at the opening of the hospital, now

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

Out of 111 babies examined in one day recently only two had signs of scabies. Yaws seems to have vanished. 744 743 855

A main concern is to persuade Tongan mothers to keep up breast feeding and to teach them how to prepare supplementary foods for the weaning process; it is conjectured that the decrease in the mother's diet of healthy native foods in favour of inferior imported food, such as white bread, has weakened lactation. 141 853 262 178

For the outlying islands there are occasional visits by the Child Welfare Nurse as well as the services of the A.M.O.; Ha'apai and Vava'u each has a Tongan-trained nurse who reports to the Child Welfare Nurse.

Church The Pivot Of Village Life

The Church has done incalculable service in Tonga and still remains the pivot of village life. 771

With the inspiring leadership of the Queen, the Royal Family and the Chiefly administrators with their fine standards of propriety and dignity, the Kingdom of Tonga pursues its life of dedication to the welfare of its people, to the true husbandry of its land, and to the character training of its rising generation. 181

In this gay, trustworthy, generous and hospitable community one finds that harmony and gracious living so lacking in a world grown weary through selfishness, greedy ambition and disillusionment.

[P. 28-D]

/82 cont./

846 574 festivities. It is simply customary for relatives (especially those of the mother) and neighbors to come, in order to see the newborn child 846 574 431 and to bring gifts, such as tapa, (small) mats, a basket of yams, a chicken, or European articles such as baby powder, for example. They are offered food that has been prepared in advance, and soon (after (602) one or two hours) the visitors return home. It is only after the birth of the first child in the family that the father with his kinsmen prepares a very large earth oven for the kinfolk of his wife, they form a kava circle and the two family groups exchange gifts of mats and tapa. Some families also repeat this celebration after subsequent births.

853 The Tongan mother begins feeding her baby by chewing a piece of coconut meat that has been heated in the fire, then wrapping this in a piece of raw tapa (feta'aki) and putting this in the child's mouth to suck. After two days the baby is given the mother's breast (huhu). In two or three months the supplementary diet is begun. The mother skins bananas (of the siaine species) that have been roasted in the fire, chews the bananas and gives them to the child which is also fed yams (for example, 'ufi-lei) baked in the earth oven and chewed (or crushed), bread fruit, sweet potatoes and /83/ coconut milk. (236)

853 177 236. The juice squeezed out of coconut meat.

However, this typical, ancient Tongan baby diet is today, in many cases, replaced by European food. Instead of the chewed coconut meat in raw tapa, the child is given warm sugar-water and in place of the aforementioned supplementary diet the baby is often given soaked pieces of bread and zwieback that have been chewed or crushed with a fork (spoon). Occasionally, a bottle with cow's milk is given instead of the breast. (237)

237. On Lifuka, for example, a woman raised the eight children of her adopted daughter

/83 cont./

853 177 with sweetened condensed milk, in order to "spare" the young mother "and keep her beautiful."

853 178 Formerly, mothers nursed their children for a very long time. Today, the average nursing period is eight to nine months, in extreme cases, 14 months. Since, in a long nursing period, the babies cannot get [744] enough strength from their mother's milk, and the mother herself should be spared this burden, the Tongan health service tries to reduce the long nursing period by the mothers' education.--After an initial liquid, soft diet the children are given the same food as adults, as soon as they have enough teeth.

846 The woman who has given birth lies on her bed (sleep mats and tapa, possibly also a European sheet and pillow) about ten days. Then she gets up and attends to the child herself. Frequently, however, her mother (or her sister) help her for another month or so. At first, the woman in childbed generally eats only light [262] [177] food. For example, she will eat Tongan food such as boiled yams or boiled chicken, and drink /the milk of/ a coconut warmed in the earth oven; or else she will live on European food, for example rice (that has become popular in Tonga) or white bread, zwieback and tea.

854 177 Commonly, babies are now wrapped in European-type diapers. Women buy them readymade or they will obtain a length of material and cut it into the required pieces. In some cases they also make panties of European material or buy them readymade. Often, however, even bigger babies crawl about without any clothes at all. European soap is commonly used in caring for the baby, sometimes also baby 856 powder. At approximately nine months the little ones start their first walking exercises.

851 In accordance with the parents' religion, the child is soon (within three months) carried to church for baptism, which is fol-